1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (ta.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

[D.303, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

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[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased
● [578] would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that
[178] mourners painted their faces black. My informants denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone
764 would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
[626] and not wash their faces until they were real dirty and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his belongings are disposed of. There is an increasing tendency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The
769 cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with
178 flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[1]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[648] [1]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would weep around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his supernatural, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine, and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

[P 361, B]

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked tribe, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 36) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *gáwtelel lâyadi°*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or *dîpah gumlâmu*, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, *palad-ai* (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called *tâgîtelel lâyadi°*, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called *sawâsag gumlâmu*, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called *dawâtelgi-š lâyadi°* (also *dawâtelgi-š lâyadi°*), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilineal consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

[P. 390, A]

in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

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Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The modal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

[See Cat. 116, p. 387, A - Am.]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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octagonal "church" near Coleville, California, and was known as "the Peyote preacher."

The decline of the movement may be attributed to at least three factors: the aggressiveness and opportunism of Ben Lancaster's leadership, which eventually antagonized the majority of non-Peyotist Washo and encouraged the formation of dissident sects among the Peyotists themselves; the direct threat posed by the new religion to the already weakened influence of the shamans, which united them in concerted and violent attack against it; and the deep schisms effected by the movement in regard to traditional tribal loyalties and family ties, which turned the initial curiosity of the Washo majority to active hostility and rejection. The period of introduction, growth, and decline of the religion from 1936 to 1939 has been studied intensively by two earlier investigators (Stewart 1944; Siskin 1941).

Recent field work indicates a revival of the Peyotist movement among the Washo shortly after 1939. Initiated by a relatively obscure Washo member of the cult, who claimed to have learned a "new way" during a visit to Peyotists in Idaho, the sect was labelled "The Tipi Way." It was set in open opposition to Ben Lancaster's domination and succeeded in attracting a number of former adherents from among the Washo who had become inactive after the 1939 debacle. This sect has undergone many changes of leadership since its inception in 1941–42, but it has persisted with remarkable cohesion to the present time. Relations with other members of the tribe have improved to the extent that the Peyotists are now a tolerated and often respected minority, and carry on their activities openly.

When the original proselyter, Ben Lancaster, died in 1955, there were three distinct sects competing for dominance in the area. One of these was the moribund group referred to as "Lancaster's Way," made up of Washo and Paiute followers who had remained loyal to him. Lancaster's wife and an old Paiute adherent lead the handful of members, and it is known by the latter's name—"J—S——'s Way." A second group is led by a mixed Washo-Paiute individual, and the participants are drawn from his immediate family; it is also referred to as his "Way." However, the largest and most vigorous sect, is "The Tipi Way," which has its center of operations at Woodfords, California, with a substantially Washo membership.

A comparison of the recent total membership of these sects with the participation data presented by Stewart (1944) reveals that there has been a drop from 111 active Peyotists in 1938 to about 78 in 1955. In 1938 there were 37 Washo and 55 Paiute members, while in 1955 fewer than 15 of the active Peyotists are Paiute or of mixed tribal origin. Of the present total membership more than seventy percent attends the meetings of "The Tipi Way" sect.

The members of this dominant sect have initiated and maintained more contact with the Native American Church than have either of the others. Its members make frequent visits to meetings in Idaho and Utah, and informal delegations make pilgrimages to Peyotist centers in Oklahoma, which they consider to be the homeland of the movement. Every few months "runs" are

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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668 533 578 178 554 Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

668 533 177 There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

668 533 176 The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine—a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing"—and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[a] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[b] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[a] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[b] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[*] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[*] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[a] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

[a] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[56] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[57]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[58] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[59]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[56] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[57] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[58] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[59] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[47] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[48] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."[49]

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[47] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[48] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 73 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[49] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time.[a]

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult.[b] This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

[a] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[b] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[a] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[b] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[6] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[7] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bamforth reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[8] Opponents allege that the .nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[9]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[6] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[7] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[8] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[9] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $7.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Sehurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Bingberg of Minden).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututal. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."